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EASTERN

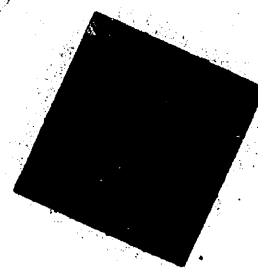
F.O.
371

1947

PALESTINE

FILE NO. 49

PP. 4327 - 4647



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Reference: FO 371 / 61835

CLOSED
UNTIL
1978

61835

26

1947

E

E 4327

2

22 MAY

PALESTINE

Registry Number

FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

E 4327/49/31

Lt. R. Campbell

Cairo

1415

416/28/47

15 May 1947

22

Re Mufti.

Enclosed extract from the "Journal d'Egypte" of May 13. reporting an interview with the Mufti in connection with reported publication in USA of documents and photographs supporting & more collaboration between Mufti and HIMMELER for extermination of Jews.

Last Paper.

4027

References.

(Print.)

61835

(How disposed of.)

8/B.O.

May 28

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

E 4327/5

30/1/48

Next Paper.

E 4414

(Minutes.)

Copy Co.

Egyptian Dept.
2/2/47

H. S. Bevis
May 23

PO
23/5

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

HME

E 4327

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

E 3

No. 415 /
416/28/47

22 MAY

15th May, 1947.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose an extract from the "Journal d'Egypte" of 13th May, containing a French Press Agency report of an interview with the ex-Mufti of Palestine in connection with the reported publication in the United States of America of documents and photographs purporting to prove that the ex-Mufti had collaborated with Nazi leaders, notably Himmler, for the extermination of Jews.

2. It will be seen that the ex-Mufti categorically denied such accusations, which he attributed to the Zionists. He then asserted that certain accusations against certain members of the Palestine delegation to the United Nations Organisation were entirely false; the Arabs, both Moslems and Christians, had never fought against Jews for racial and religious reasons, he stated. On the contrary, the Jews had always found a welcome among the Arabs, and relations between Jews and Arabs had never been disturbed before the recent apparition of Zionism. The Arabs had to defend themselves to protect a peaceful Palestine which the Zionists, by their imperialist policy, had transformed into an inferno.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to the British Middle East Office, and to His Majesty's Representatives in Washington, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Beirut, Jedda, Damascus and Amman.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Ronald J. Bell

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61835**

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"Le Journal d'Egypte"

13th. May 1947.

Le Grand Moufti de Palestine se défend :
« JE N'AI JAMAIS
COLLABORE AVEC HIMMLER »

déclare S.Em. Hajj Amine El Husseini

Le Caire, le 12 (AFP). — A la suite de la publication aux Etats-Unis de documents et photographies tendant à prouver que le Grand Moufti de Palestine, El Hajj Amine El Husseini, avait collaboré avec les chefs nazis allemands et notamment Himmler en vue de l'extermination des Juifs, El Hajj Amine El-Husseini a fait à l'Agence France-Presse, les déclarations suivantes :

« Je n'ai jamais dans ma vie accompli une action et je n'en accomplirai jamais une qui ne soit dictée uniquement par l'intérêt de mon pays. Je n'ai jamais été l'instrument de n'importe quelle puissance ou organisation étrangère.

« Je démens catégoriquement toutes ces accusations qui ont été formulées contre moi, et, en particulier, celles qui me présentent comme un des collaborateurs de Himmler pour l'extermination des Juifs.

« Je n'ai jamais écrit de ma vie n'importe quelle lettre à Himmler. Je n'ai jamais eu n'importe quelle relation avec lui pas plus qu'avec n'importe quelle autre personne dans le but d'exterminer les Juifs d'Europe.

« Je suis certain que les Sionistes eux-mêmes qui font circuler

maintenant des fausses informations appauvrissent la vérité sur ce point beaucoup mieux que n'importe qui.

« Quant aux accusations dirigées contre certains membres de la délégation palestinienne à l'ONU, elles sont également entièrement fausses et inventées de toutes pièces.

« Nous autres, Arabes, et je parle aussi bien au nom des Musulmans que des Chrétiens d'Orient, nous n'avons jamais été antisémites à n'importe quelle époque de l'histoire. Nous n'avons jamais lutté contre les Juifs pour des raisons raciales ou religieuses.

« Au contraire, les Juifs trouvent toujours chez nous un meilleur accueil et une sympathie plus effective que dans le sein de n'importe quelle autre nation. Ces rapports entre Juifs et Arabes n'avaient jamais été troublés avant la récente apparition du Sionisme.

« Nous nous trouvons maintenant devant une agression sioniste dirigée contre notre patrie et nous ne pouvons que nous défendre pour protéger une Palestine pacifique que les Sionistes ont transformée malheureusement en enfer par leur politique impérialiste.

« Toutes ces accusations perfides ne seront d'aucune utilité et ne nous empêcheront pas de poursuivre la lutte pour sauver notre pays du danger qui le menace.

« Dans l'accomplissement de notre devoir patriotique, nous ne craignons ni les accusations des sionistes, ni leurs avances, ni leurs menaces. Nous sommes parfaitement certains que la victoire finale nous restera car nous avons pour nous le droit et ils ont pour eux l'injustice. »



S.Em. Hajj Amine El Husseini

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*delete as necessary

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E4442/49/31

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E 4453
27 MAY

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1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number } E 4453/29/31.
FROM P.A. Fitzgerald.
No. Colonial Office
Dated 14342/3/1/47.
Received in Registry 22 May 1947.
27 - -

7th Mifti.
Enclosed copy of Palestine tel 112 dating of May 15, a suggestion that another protest be made to Egyptian Govt against Mifti's Political activities.

Last Paper.

4442.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Rel. Cairo 1103
Rel. Jerusalem
Amman 17
Beirut 29
Damascus 19
Bagdad 29
Izdda 14
June 7
P.T.O.

(Action completed.)

G.A. Mifti

(Index.)

20/4/48

Next Paper.

E 4528

(Minutes.)

? Draft to Cairo authorising the Amb. to act as proposed in his tel. on E3700.

I regret that these pp. have taken some time to submit, but there has been some difficulty in assembling them.

Egyptian Dept. - D.H. 4/6

D.S. Beirut June 6

Tele sent 20 June 7

W.M. Carter 6/6

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5A

6/ Kroppel Ringel
G.V.
Mr. Kelper Dallett
N.H. Pa.
June 11

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Downing Street, *Cairo*
S.W.1.

22nd May, 1947. *6*

14342/3/1/47

SECRET

E 4453

Dear Beith,

27 MAY

I enclose for your information a copy of a telegram from the High Commissioner concerning the suggestion of His Majesty's Ambassador, Cairo, that another protest might be made to the Egyptian Government against the Mufti's political activities, (Cairo telegram No.1037 refers).

1036(?) - E3700

You will, of course, note that the High Commissioner feels that such a protest should be made and quotes the Mufti's latest message to his followers in evidence.

For our part we also agree with the Ambassador's suggestion.

Yours sincerely
Ern Ingham

J.G.S. BEITH, ESQ.

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Reference:

FO

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61835

12..Clear.
SAVING.

C.S. 730.

From the High Commissioner for Palestine.

To the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

15th May 1947.

Date.....

No. 112 Saving.

Addressed to Secretary of State SAVING TOP SECRET. Repeated
Saving to Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, Amman and Jeddah
No. . . 2/3 . . .

His Majesty's Ambassador's Cairo telegram No. 1036 of
May 2nd to Foreign Office. Haj Amin el Hussein.

I agree that representations to the Egyptian
Prime Minister on the lines suggested in paragraph 3 of
His Majesty's Ambassador's telegram under reference are
desirable.

2. The Egyptian newspaper el Ahram, which circulates
in Palestine, published a message from Haj Amin to the
Arabs of Palestine in its issue dated the 10th April, 1947.
A translation of the message is as follows :@

"The difficult circumstances and the dangerous
ambitions which surround our home have lead me to ask you
to stand against the danger and use all your might to
prevent disaster in order to keep safe the inheritance of
your ancestors. As the stages of our national struggle are
beset with difficulties it is necessary that we should be
united and we may have to make many sacrifices. I therefore
call to every individual of the liberal people to be brethren
in good and bad conditions, to unite your forces and statements,
avoiding party disputes like a strong edifice.

As our popular revival and national movement can only be
realised on the basis of good organisation the public is
therefore in need of a strong financial system in Palestine
to feed the national movement and prepare means for the active
national bodies to carry out their responsibilities and guide the
ship in this disturbed sea. The Arab Higher Committee which is
leading the national movement has established this system which
is known as the Arab Treasury (Beit el Mal). Its plans have
been completed and its ambitions th warrant the best results. Its
task is to contact the people and collect subscriptions and
contributions! Brethren, I call upon you to give generously.
Give as much as you can as the national movement is in need of
money as well as unity and it is a great responsibility which
you are bound to shoulder as the nation is threatened by
ambitions.

O liberal people, you have given much for your dear
home from your souls and your fortunes. This is not your first
sacrifice and I am sure you will give willingly, support the
Arab Treasury and assist those who are working for this object."

3. I suggest that the publication of such a message is in
itself proof of political activity at the nature of which
Nokrashy disavows knowledge.

ELM.

GPP 1001 50 0077 228-46

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8

Registry
No. E4453/49/31

OUT FILE

Despatched 4.16 p.M.
7/6/47

Draft.

Cairo

Telegram. 1103

Code June 7th
Israh

Dept. No. 1

Copy Co
(Mr T. Smith)
M13 a
(Maj. Telfer-Smith)

J.B. June 4

Egyptian Dept.
Just H/G.

UM 6/6

Repeat Saving

- Jerusalem
- Amman 17 SAV:
- Beirut 29 SAV
- Damascus 19 SAV:
- Baghdad 29 SAV:
- Jeddah 14 SAV:

Your tel. no. 1036 [of May 2:
Ex-mufti]

In the light of Jerusalem
tel. no. 112 saying I agree
that you should act as
proposed.

MJ
7/6

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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9

OUT FILE

E 4453/49/31

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

No.1103

D. 4.16 p.m. 7th June, 1947

7th June, 1947

Repeated Saving to Jerusalem
 Amman No.17
 Beirut No.29
 Damascus No.19
 Bagdad No.29
 Jedda No.14

.....

Your telegram No.1036 [of May 2nd: Ex-muftil].

In the light of Jerusalem telegram No.112
 Saving I agree that you should act as proposed.

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FO 371 / 51835

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Class *371*

Piece *61835*

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E4528/49/31

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Reference:

FO

371 / 61835

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31

E

10

1947

E 4723

PALESTINE

JUN

Registry Number

E 4723/49/31

FROM

R.R. Stokes

No.

M.P.

Dated

Received in Registry

30 May 1947

3 June 1947

The Mufti.

Transmit copy of letter from Mr. Bandak seeking an interview to discuss the Palestine situation, with regard to Mufti's part in proposed Arab Rising.

Last Paper.

4528

(Minutes.)

References.

The letter from Mr. Bandak enclosed in Mr. Stokes' letter asks Mr. Stokes to arrange a meeting with the Secretary of State. Although Mr. Stokes in his covering letter does not expressly support this request, he does so by implication.

It is, however, submitted that it is not necessary for the Secretary of State to see Mr. Bandak, although the son of the Mayor of Bethlehem, he is, I understand, a young man of no particular importance. Besides, he has already been received in the Department, by Mr. Baxter, who listened to what he had to say.

(Print.)

What is more, what he has to suggest, namely that we should reach an understanding with the Mufti, or, as he put it to Mr. Baxter, that we should make a "gesture" to the Mufti, would involve a complete reversal of our present attitude towards the Mufti, and while some modification of our attitude may eventually become necessary, there could be no question of this while the Palestine question is sub judice before the United Nations. In any case, the matter is primarily one for the Colonial Office.

I submit draft reply.

(I.P. Garran)
3.6.47

* P.T.O. (How disposed of.)

apt. R.R. Stokes
M.P.
from Dept of
of Hoopland
(conesp.) P.O.

10 June

P.T.O.

(Action completed.)

Gibson

(Index)

20/6/48

Next Paper.

5751

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Unreported
4/6

M. B. S. 4/6

13 June 11

11

9. P.P. R.R. Stokes to M. McNeill 23/5.
4.0. Minute M. Beich 13/6.

*
Dpt. R.R. Stokes
from M. McNeill
May 21.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

See E4723/49131

The Minister of State has asked for the views of Eastern Department on Mr. Stokes' suggestion that the Mufti should be used by us to counteract Communist propaganda activities in the Middle East and that the Mufti could best do this from Jerusalem.

The attached correspondence (E 1175/49/31) is relevant. H.M. Ambassador at Cairo suggested in a letter of January 28th that the Mufti could do less harm in Jerusalem than in Cairo, but, after consultation with the Colonial Office, the suggestion was turned down in Sir R. Howe's letter of April 3rd. There appears to be no doubt that the High Commissioner would strongly resist any attempt to return the Mufti to Jerusalem. Moreover, he is a man who cannot be trusted and cannot therefore be used to help us in our propaganda. If we allowed him to return to Jerusalem, we should of course be accused of helping the Arabs at the present critical stage of the Palestine question.

Mr Horn

B.S. Bevin

13th June, 1947.

(BEITH)

See also Mr Stokes' letter to the S. of S.

in E4723.

R. Farman
✓ 14/6

There can, I think, be no question of our pressing the Colonial Office to

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

Minutes.

13

To reverse their policy of excluding
the Mufti from Palestine, ~~because~~
~~of the Mufti's~~ whatever the facts
may be about the Mufti's alleged
anti-Communist sentiments.

W. M. Butler
16/6

I agree. Permission from
us for the ex. Mufti to return to
Jerusalem wd. be a gift to the anti-
British Zionists and others who wd.
exploit to the full films of him
impounding Nazi troops, etc. etc.

W. M. Butler

16/6

James
Deeds

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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FO 371 / 61835

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14

Mr Beith.

This is the letter
about what we
spoke.

The Man of State
is dining with the
Stokes next Tuesday,
the 17th.

John 11/6.

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51835

RRS/MA

~~Act'd 26/5.~~
Eastern Dept.

15



32, Victoria Street,
LONDON.S.W.1.

23rd May, 1946.

The Rt. Hon. Hector McNeill, PC., MP.,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

Dear Hector,

I appreciate your reasons for not wishing to see the Son of the Mayor of Bethlehem, but he came to the House of Commons and I was invited to meet him by some of our colleagues.

The point which he wished to thrust home was simply this: The Mufti is strongly Anti-Communist and as the accepted religious leader of the Arabs, could and would do a tremendous amount to counteract the Communist propaganda activities throughout the Middle East if his pronouncement came from Jerusalem. As it is, exiled in Cairo and so without the same authority, and more especially having regard to the dissatisfaction at present ruling in Egypt, he cannot effectively take such action.

However, perhaps I could say more on this next time we meet and there are several other things about which I should like to have a talk. Perhaps you will come and dine with me one night during the week commencing 1st June.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

RRS
R.R.STOKES.



*3a 8 week - 4
cont. first week
2 June*

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FO 371 / 61835

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RRS/BMR.

Entered soon

4723
~~4722~~
E
30 JUN 47

Victoria Street,
Westminster,
LONDON, S.W.1.

16

30th May 1947.

The Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, P.C., M.P.,
The Foreign Office,
Whitehall,
LONDON, S.W.1.

1. ACKNOWLEDGED
INT. DEPT. 31-5-47
2. Eastern Dept. for
urgent info. please.
P. J. Kinnon
31/5

Dear Bevin, PALESTINE - GRAND MUFTI.

The Writer of the enclosed letter, Mr. Bandak,
came to the House of Commons on 20th May to see
several of my colleagues in the Labour Party and I
was asked to join them.

He is the son of the Mayor of Bethlehem and,
with their agreement, I promised to try and get him an
interview with Hector McNeil. Hector could not see
him and is now away on holiday: I think in fact Hector
* did not want to see him. However, in view of
representations made and of the man's insistence, I
thought you should see the enclosed letter.

Yours sincerely,

R.R. Stokes
R.R. Stokes.

* Hector explained why but this letter rather modifies my acceptance
and in his absence I therefore write to you as the man goes
back to Palestine on or about 9th June.

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COPY OF LETTER FROM;

Z: BANDAĀ,
18, Walpole Street,
S.W.3.

Dated: 29th May 1947.

My dear Stokes,

I understand that important Arab leaders are insisting on the necessity of an Arab rising in Palestine as the only means of stopping Jewish immigration. The decision to rule out the independence of Palestine as a term of reference made some responsible Arabs doubtful of British intentions.

I do know that the Mufti has been standing stolidly against such an action at present. I sincerely think that, to avoid the conclusion by Arabs that Britain is hopeless, an understanding with the Mufti is essential. He asks for nothing personal; he merely needs to be assured that Great Britain is not concealing political intentions which would endanger the future of the Arabs in Palestine.

I should be very grateful if you could arrange a meeting with Bevin as early as possible as I have delayed my departure solely for this purpose.

Yours very sincerely,

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18
OUT FILE

31st May, 1947.

My dear Stokes,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd May about the Murfi's position in the Middle East. I shall be glad to talk it over with you at the first suitable opportunity but for the next week I shall be away from the office on a short holiday. However, I will be back on Monday, 9th June, and perhaps our respective Secretaries can arrange for us to dine one evening after I return. I seem to have a number of free evenings about the middle of the month.

Yours sincerely,

(86.) HECTOR MONEN

R.R. Stokes, Esq., M.P.,
32, Victoria Street,
London, S.W.1.

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Reference:

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Registry
No. E4723/49/31

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

IPG

Draft. *rel.*

to:

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Mr. R.R. Stokes,
M.P.,
House of Commons.

From:

Secretary of State

No record made: he suggested a gesture to the Ministry
Private Secretary
to see first.

PD 5/6

Copy correspondence
to Mr. Trafford
Smith, Colonial
Office.

PD 3/6

my 24/6

my 4/6

OUT FILE

+ 2 C 6
7³ June 19

Dear Dick,

I have had
~~Thank you for~~ your letter of the 30th

May enclosing one from Mr. Z. Bandak,
asking
~~who asks~~ you to arrange a meeting with me.

I ~~much~~ appreciate your having approached
me in the matter but I am afraid that it
will not be possible for me to see Mr.

Bandak. ~~I should mention, however, that~~
however
He has ~~already~~ been received in the Foreign
Office by the Head of the Eastern
Department, who listened to what he had
to say.

In any case I should add that the
question of our attitude towards the
Mufti is primarily one for the Colonial
Office.

Yours sincerely,

my 6/6

(Sgd.) E. Bevin

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference: **FO 371** / 61835

OUT FILE

7th June, 1947.

(F 4723/49/31)

20

Dear Dick,

I have had your letter of the 30th May enclosing one from Mr. E. Bandak, asking you to arrange a meeting with me.

I appreciate your having approached me in the matter but I am afraid that it will not be possible for me to see Mr. Bandak. He has however already been received in the Foreign Office by the Head of the Eastern Department, who listened to what he had to say.

In any case I should add that the question of our attitude towards the Mufti is primarily one for the Colonial Office.

Yours sincerely,
(Sgt.) E. Bevin

R. E. Stokes, M.P.,

House of Commons.

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E

E 5751

1947

PALESTINE

2 JUL

21

Registry Number } E5751/49/31
TELEGRAM FROM

No. 411 Downtown -

Dated } Beirut

Received in Registry } Beirut

480.
30 July
2 July

The Mafli.

Refer Jerusalem tel 1149. (E44114/49/31)
States, there are no indications from
any quarter that he is expected here.

Last Paper.

4723

(Minutes.)

begin of C.O.

References.

H.B. 2/7

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr. Mathieson, C.O.
✓ 2 July.

(Action completed.)

for 11/7

(Index.)

11/7
30/7/48

Next Paper.

E 5896

32003 F.O.P.

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Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No. 1. *E*

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

22

Mr. Houstoun-Boswall. D. 4.18 p.m. 30th June, 1947.
No. 480.
30th June, 1947. R. 8.10 p.m. 30th June, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem,
Cairo,
Bagdad,
Damascus (Saving).

E 5751

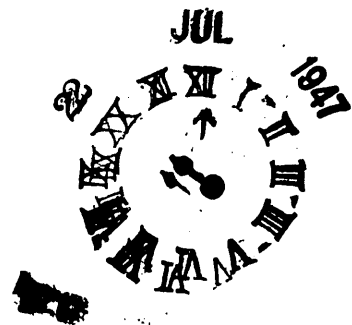
3 3 3

4410/29/11

2 JUL

Jerusalem telegram No. 1149 to the Colonial Office.

Mufti. There are no indications from any
quarter that he is expected here.



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Class 371

Piece 61835

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E 5896/49/31

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EG076/49/31

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*delete as necessary

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/ 61835

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E

E 6201

1947

PALESTINE

18 JUL 23

Registry Number } E6201/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. W. Haurston-Berwell

Dated Beirut

Received in Registry } 516

11 July

12

The Multi.

Refers to tel 439 (E 4414/49/31) which was
Foreign Affairs to whom Oriental Key spoke, said
that he was not aware of any approach to the
Salameh Govt in connection with the Multi
movement. He promised to do his best to
prevent its coming. and would keep informed.

Last Paper.

~~6076~~

(Minutes.)

References.

W.B. 14/7

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

G.P.M. 15/7

(Index.)

20/7/48

Next Paper.

E 6268

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

E 6201

E 24

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on] Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Houstoun Boswall D.7 .25 a.m. 12th July, 1947.

No.516
11th July, 1947. R.11.24 a.m. 12th July, 1947.

B B B B

IMPORTANT
SECRET

E 4414/49/31

Your telegram No.439: Mufti.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs to whom the Oriental Secretary spoke to-day in accordance with your instructions, said that he was not aware of any approach to the Lebanese Government in connexion with the Mufti's movements. He promised to do his best to prevent his coming to the Lebanon and said he would keep us informed.



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E

E 6268

1947

PALESTINE

15 JUL 1947 25

Registry Number } E6268/49/31.
TELEGRAM FROM

No. Sir R. Campbell

Dated Cairo
Received in Registry } 81 Saving.
11 July
15 -

To Mufti.
Refer F.O. 1103 (E4453/49/31) spoke to
Head of Kings (air) accordingly. It replied
with emphasis that it was quite impossible that
the Mufti should be acting this way. He pointed
out that the Mufti was watched.

Last Paper.

6201

References.

(Minutes.)
Desm. Pleas all ~~at~~ E 3700 1173.
Lynn Gb.
Egyptian Paper. CA 21/7
H.B. 17/7

(Print.)

(How disposed of?)

8) C.O. ✓ July 21

(Action completed.)

R22/7

(Index.)

[Signature] 30/7/48

Next Paper.

E 6280

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En clair
By Confidential Bag.

E 6268

26

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

15 JUL 1947

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir R.I. Campbell
No. 81 Saving

July 11th, 1947.

R. 4.35 p.m. July 14th, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem No. 73
Amman No. 71
Beirut No. 56
Damascus No. 49
Bagdad No. 54
Jedda No. 58

SAVING



sssss

Your telegram No. 1103 [of June 7th].

4453/19/31

I spoke to the Head of the King's Cabinet accordingly.

2. He replied with emphasis that it was quite impossible that the Mufti should be acting in this way. His Excellency pointed out that the Mufti was watched. I insisted, however, that we had reason to believe what I had told him. I said that we had sometimes wished that the Mufti could be housed in the desert, say at Siwa. His Excellency said it would be far more difficult to watch him there.

[Copy sent to Middle East Secretariat]

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Reference:

FO

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51835

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10...

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 6550

22 JUL 1947

27

Registry Number E6550/49/31.
 FROM C.O.
 No. Com m d.
 Dated
 Received in Registry } 22 July.

Activities of the Mufti.
 Copy of tel no 169 of 12/7. to Seychelles.
 discussing position of the Mufti
 of Jerusalem.

Last Paper.
 6250
 E 6550

(Minutes.)

Also written:
 1) Tel. no 1520 of July 12th. from
 P.O. to Palestine.

Phon entered white.

2) C.O. tel to ^{Seychelles} ~~Palestine~~ 228 of 16/7.

H.B. 177

H.B. 227

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) R 23/7.	(Index) 30/4/48
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Next Paper.

7168

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Reference: FO 371 / 61835

15 JUL 1947

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

E
E6280

18
Enter

14342/3/1/47

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO SEYCHELLES (Dr. P.S. Selwyn Clarke)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 12th July, 1947. 13.45 hrs.

H9
6550
22 JUL 1947

28

IMPORTANT

No. 169 Top Secret.

Addressed to Governor of Seychelles.
Repeated to High Commissioner, Palestine, No. 1521.

You will recall that in May 1945 when it seemed possible that the Mufti of Jerusalem, then in Europe, might fall into our hands, it was proposed that if arrested he should be sent for detention in Seychelles. My telegram No. 163 of the 7th May 1945 refers. The Mufti himself evaded us at that time but in December 1945 it was decided that five of his associates who were then in detention in Brussels should be sent to Seychelles for further detention (my telegram No. 364 of 3rd December, 1945 and subsequent telegraphic correspondence refer). The last of these detainees were released in November, 1946. Reports have recently been current in the Middle East that the Mufti of Jerusalem now resident in Egypt may attempt shortly to transfer his residence to the Lebanon. If he makes this move it is possible that he will call at Haifa, and I have had under consideration with my colleagues the action which should be taken by the Government of Palestine in this event. A decision has been reached that if Mufti should come within jurisdiction of Palestine Government he should be arrested and deported

immediately/

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 11935

29

immediately to Seychelles for detention as political prisoner. I assume that accommodation vacated by his accomplices in November of last year is still available to house Mufti should he arrive. All expenses in this connection would be met by Government of Palestine.

2. I am asking High Commissioner for Palestine to inform you immediately should Mufti set foot in Palestine and also to advise you now of arrangements he would propose to make in that event for Mufti's transference to Seychelles. It seems unlikely that Mufti will take serious risk of entering Palestine jurisdiction but it is necessary that we should make arrangements now for the action to be taken in such an event. I much regret to have to ask you again to make preparations for reception of an unwelcome visitor and I sincerely hope that he will not in fact be thrust upon you. Please let me know if there are any difficulties regarding his reception in which I can help you. I shall inform you if there are any indications that such a move on Mufti's part is imminent.

Distributed to:-

M.S.25
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. I. Thomas
Mr. Martin
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Blackburne
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Trafford Smith
Foreign Office

Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Bennett
Mr. Eastwood
Mr. Bigg
Mr. Paskin
Mr. Sidebotham
Mr. P. Wilkins
Miss Boyd
Mr. H. Beeley.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	1	1	2	1

Reference:

FO

37

1835

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<p>9 1027 31</p>	<p>Palestine EASTERN</p>	<p>EY168 / G - 7 AUG 1947</p>
<p>EY168 / 49 / C C.O. wound Tel to Palestine 1423. dated 2 Aug Received 7 Aug.</p>	<p>Grand Mufti 32 Tel to Palestine 1423.</p>	
<p>Last Paper. E6280</p>	<p>(Minutes.) HB. 8/8</p>	
<p>References. E6280/49/C</p>	<p>See within 1. Palestine to 1813 - 7 Aug</p>	
<p>(Print.)</p>	<p>HB. 15/8</p>	
<p>(How disposed of.)</p>		
<p>(Action completed.) 5/8</p>	<p>(Index.) W.H.</p>	
<p>Next Paper.</p>		

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61835**

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

E

EY168 / 17

Encl.

- 7 AUG 1947

33

7 AUG 1947

14342/3/1/47

Cypher (O.T.P.)

TO PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

FROM S. OF S., COLONIES.

Sent 2nd August, 1947. 12.00 hrs.

No.1723. Top Secret.

Addressed High Commissioner Palestine.
Repeated Governor Seychelles No.186.

My telegram to Governor, Seychelles, No.169
repeated to you No.1521.

Mufti.

Governor, Seychelles, is prepared to provide accommodation for person named at few days' notice and anticipates no difficulty regarding his reception. He has asked for information regarding probable number of Mufti's retinue and for permission to purchase locally suites of furniture in advance owing to very short supply.

2. No doubt if he enters Palestine Mufti will be accompanied by attendants, some of whom may be liable to arrest and deportation under Palestine law. It seems most probable however that Mufti will be arrested alone and may later request that certain members of his staff be permitted to join him in Seychelles to attend to his physical needs. Presumably no reliable estimate can be made in advance of number of retinue but no doubt you will bear in mind, if Mufti is arrested in Palestine, that Governor, Seychelles, is anxious to have this information. I doubt whether arrest is sufficiently likely to justify expenditure now from Palestine funds on suites of furniture. Grateful for your views on this point.

Distributed to:-/

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FO 371 / 41835

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MS.25
Secretary of State
Sir T. Lloyd
Mr. I. Thomas
Mr. Martin
Sir C. Jeffries
Mr. Blackburne
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Bennett
Mr. Bigg
Mr. Paskin
Mr. Sidebotham
Mr. Wilkins
Miss Boyd
Foreign Office

- Mr. H. Beeley.

6 AUG 1947

RECEIVED

- 7 - 1947

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Reference:

FO 371 / 41835

11 AUG 1947

INWARD TELEGRAM

EY168

17
35

This document must be paraphrased if the communication of its contents to any person outside Government Service is authorised.

Cypher

FROM PALESTINE (General Sir A. Cunningham)

TO S. OF S., COLONIES.

D. 7th August, 1947.

R. 7th " " 19.30 hrs.

No.1513 Top Secret.

Addressed S. of S.
Repeated Governor Seychelles No.1117.

Your telegram No.1723.

Mufti.

I am most grateful to you and the Governor of Seychelles for the action taken.

2. Present indications are that Mufti intends to remain in Egypt for the time being. He is probably by now aware that he would be arrested if he attempted to enter Palestine and I consider that it is unlikely that he will do so. The purchase of suites of furniture would not (repeat not) be justified at present.

3. It is impossible to say who would be with the Mufti if he were arrested. It seems unlikely that he would travel alone, and it would be difficult to refuse a request for him to be accompanied by one or two persons attendants if deported.

Distributed to:-/

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FO 371 / 61835

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11 AUG 1947

SENT TO DEPT

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Mr. Martin
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Mr. Blackburne
Mr. Gutch
Mr. Trafford Smith
Mr. Mathieson
Mr. Higham
Mr. Bennett
Mr. Bigg
Mr. Paskin
Mr. Sidebotham
Mr. Wilkins
Miss Boyd
Foreign Office

- Mr. H. Beeley.

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E9177/49/31

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FO 371 / 61835

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E

E 9644

1947

PALESTINE

37

Registry Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

Egypt/31
Beirut
7/16
act

The Mufti.
The Mufti arrived in Egypt 8 Oct. according to news that he was accepted to stay in Egypt. He would not accept a visa. He was reported to have been in a state of repeated representations to subject to Mufti's arrival would undoubtedly be a most unfortunate event.

Last Paper.

9177

Minutes.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr. Mathieson, C.O.
(on E9647)
✓ 18 Oct.

I think the lines, on which Mr. Evans proposes to speak, in Para. 3 are quite correct. We have to take cognisance of the Mufti's arrival and express our concern, but it is no use our using strong language when there is nothing we can do about it. Mr. Evans has now reported his conversation with the Lebanese Prime Minister - see attached spare of Beirut Telegram No. 521. It appears from this telegram that the Lebanese Government may have been genuinely surprised by the Mufti's arrival, but I doubt whether we shall ever know the truth of that.

As regards the Mufti's departure from Egypt, it does not appear that we have asked the Egyptian Government to prevent him leaving the country. Our line has been that the Mufti should be prevented from indulging in political activities in Egypt. The Egyptian Government's belated reply to our representations will be found in E3668/49/G. In the circumstances there does not appear to be cause for us to complain to the Egyptian Government of the present development.

I attach draft telegram to Beirut.

Egyptian Dept.

M. J. Bevis
9th October, 1947.
(BEIRUT)

(Action completed.)

(Index)

9/30/10
30/11/48

Next Paper.

E 9381

See also Beirut tel. no. 721.
I agree that there is nothing that we can say to the Egyptian Government. Our representations to

them/

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61835**

B
them were confined to asking that the Mufti should not be allowed to engage in political activities. The Egyptian Government do seem, however, to have placed no obstacle whatever in the way of his departure. I agree that we should approve Mr. Evans' language. I think, however, that at the same time we should instruct him to go further and to inform the Lebanese Government that we count on them to do everything possible to prevent the Mufti from engaging in political activities. I do not think that this will have any real effect, for I doubt whether the Lebanese Government could restrain the Mufti even if they wanted to. It would, however, be consistent with our previous attitude.

I think that we should watch Iraqi reactions to the Mufti's movements very closely. It is not clear what precisely is meant by Riad Bey's remark (Beirut telegram No. 721) that Saleh Jabr is more excited than anyone else. Does it mean that he is enthusiastic or annoyed? The Mufti is of course a deadly enemy of the Regent (he plotted with Rashid Ali for the Regent's overthrow in 1941.) But Saleh Jabr has recently been showing signs of a tendency to ~~play with~~ *pay attention to* the extreme nationalists. We should watch carefully to make sure that he is playing straight.

I submit a revised draft telegram.

P. Gamm

10th October, 1947.

Pl. see separate minute.

BAB

10.x

E 9627

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans, D: 1.5 p.m. 8th October, 1947
No. 716.
8th October, 1947. R: 1.5 p.m. 8th October, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo,
British Middle East Office,
Bagdad
Jerusalem,
Jedda,
Amman,
Damascus,
Washington,
United Kingdom Delegation New York.

E 9344

MOST IMMEDIATE

The ex Mufti arrived in Beirut this morning.

2. According to Lebanese Prime Minister his arrival was a complete surprise to the Lebanese authorities. He travelled without a visa.

3. I am seeing the Prime Minister this afternoon. I propose to inform him that in view of repeated representations on the subject the ex Mufti's arrival would undoubtedly create a most unfavourable impression on His Majesty's Government.

Cairo please pass to British Middle East Office as my telegram No. 165 and Foreign Office please pass important to Washington and United Kingdom Delegation New York as my telegrams Nos 11 and 21 respectively.

[Repeated to Washington and United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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FO 371 / 61835

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1947

E

E 9381

PALESTINE

9 OCT

Registry Number

E9381/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

W Evans

Dated

Beirut

Received in Registry

7 21

8 Oct
4 -

The Mufti

Refer Beirut tel 416 (E9381/49/31)
Had Bey said re Mufti arrival had come
as complete surprise first indication he
had was a telephone call from the Mufti
in person, Mufti is to be accommodated in
Had Bey's house from conversations together
Had Bey had formed impression that Mufti
was much more moderate.

Last Paper.

9744

Copy to c.o. (Mr. Mathison) ^(Minutes)

Julie
(J.E. CABLE)
9/10

References.

Pp. and action submitted

JB out 9

See within: Beirut tel. 66 Sev. 29/10

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Mathison

Oct 10

Tel. Beirut 628
13 Oct.

Rptd. Cairo 1894
Bagdad 872
Jedda 414
Amman 447
Damascus 522
B.M.E.O. Cairo 766

(Action completed.)

J. L. 10/10

(Index)

10/10

Next Paper.

E9453

82008 F.O.P.

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Reference: FO 371 / 61835

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4

[New York.
(U.K. Del.) 3447.]

[Jerusalem]

8) Mathieson, P.O.
(on E9647)

✓ Oct. 18

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans
No. 521

D. 8.8 p.m. 8th October 1947
R.10.55 p.m. 8th October 1947

8th October 1947

Repeated to Cairo
B.M.E.O. Cairo
Bagdad
Amman
Jedda
Jerusalem
U.K. Delegation New York
Damascus Saving.

E 9381
9 OCT

IMMEDIATE.
SECRET

My telegram No. 716; ex Mufti. *7 lines*

I was received by Lebanese Prime Minister this afternoon and spoke to him on ~~special offer~~ indicated in paragraph 3 of my telegram under reference. Riad Bey said the ex-Mufti's arrival had come as a complete surprise to both him and the Egyptians. (Sheik Yussef Yassin whom I saw later told me that Riad Bey had given him the same version). Riad Bey said first indication he had of the arrival was a telephone call from Beirut airfield from the Mufti in person. He had travelled without passport or visa in an Egyptian aircraft. (It is learnt from other sources that aircraft belonged to the M.I.S.R. Company). The Mufti was accompanied by Ahmed Hilmi, Sobhi Abu-Khadra, Osman Kamal Haddad and Nujhad Hussein. I have since learnt that in a second M.I.S.R. aircraft the following also arrived; Sheik Hassan Abou Seeud (present Mufti of Jerusalem), Ishaq Dar[gp.undec.]aul, Mareuf Dawalibi and Majdi Jasuni. Riad Bey told me the ex Mufti was being accommodated for the present in his (Riad's) house.

2. Riad Bey attributed the sudden arrival to a very human desire on the part of the ex Mufti not to be absent when far-reaching decisions affecting Palestine were being taken. He added that in his opinion his presence would make no great difference to work of the Arab League Council (Sheik Yussef Yassin told me the same thing) but agreed that spectacular effect would be considerable. He said from such conversations as he had had with the ex Mufti he had formed the impression he was now much more moderate and also that he had been duly impressed by importance of Colonial Secretary's statement.

3. Riad Bey's parting remark was that Salah Jabr was probably more excited than anyone else about the matter.

Foreign Office please pass to U.K. Delegation New York as my telegram No.24 and Cairo to B.M.E.O. as my telegram No. 168.

[Repeated to U.K. Delegation New York].
V V V

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Reference: **FO 371 / 51835**

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Registry
No.

B. A. B. B.

Draft.

H. M. Chargé
d'Affaires,
Beirut.

Telegram.

No. 628

Dated. Oct 13

Repeat to:

~~1894
Cairo~~

~~Bagdad 872~~

~~Jejda 414~~

~~Amman 447~~

~~Damascus 522~~

~~B. M. E. O. 766~~

U.K. Delegation,
New York. 3447

Jerusalem

~~XXX~~ (Immediate)

Cypher

Cabinet Dist.

[Handwritten signature]

OUT FILE

13th October, 1947. 43

Important Despatched 405 P.M.

Your telegrams Nos. 716 and 721 [of
8th October: Mufti].

I approve your language.

2. I assume that the Lebanese Government would be unwilling and unable to remove the Mufti from the Lebanon, or to restrain his political activity while he is there. Unless the High Commissioner for Palestine feels strongly in contrary sense it would therefore not seem worth while for you to ask Lebanese Government to do either of these things. You should, however, take an early opportunity of stating that I count on them to restrain him from taking any action which would cause added difficulty for the British Administration in Palestine. You should add that ^{it would} ~~I would~~ ^{seem regrettable,} ~~deeply regret it~~ if at this moment, when moderation on all sides is clearly the first essential, the Arab League were to be influenced by someone of such a dubious past and such extremist views as the Mufti.

2./

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO 371** / 51835

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✓ 1.9/47

44

3. Please elucidate paragraph 3 of your telegram No. 721. Is the Iraqi Prime Minister glad of Mufti's arrival, or are Iraqi feelings towards him still as hostile as before?

FLAG B

NO

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 51835

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OUT FILE 45

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Cypher/OTP. CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BEIRUT.

No. 628.

D. 4.05 p.m. 15th October 1947.

15th October 1947.

Repeated to: Cairo, No.1894;
Bagdad, No.872;
Jedda, No.414;
Amman, No.447;
Damascus, No.522;
B.M.E.O. Cairo, No.766;
U.K. Delegation New York, No.3447;
Jerusalem (Immediate).

IMPORTANT.

Your telegrams Nos.716 and 721 [of 8th October: Mufti].

I approve your language.

2. I assume that the Lebanese Government would be unwilling and unable to remove the Mufti from the Lebanon or to restrain his political activity while he is there. Unless the High Commissioner for Palestine feels strongly in contrary sense it would therefore not seem worth while for you to ask Lebanese Government to do either of these things. You should, however, take an early opportunity of stating that I count on them to restrain him from taking any action which would cause added difficulty for the British Administration in Palestine. You should add that it would seem regrettable, if at this moment, when moderation on all sides is clearly the first essential, the Arab League were to be influenced by someone of such a dubious past and such extremist views as the Mufti.

3. Please elucidate paragraph 3 of your telegram No.721. Is the Iraqi Prime Minister glad of Mufti's arrival, or are Iraqi feelings towards him still as hostile as before?

W:W:W:W:W

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Reference:

FO

371

61835

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E 9381 / 49 / 31.

INDEXED

18 OCT 1947

File

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Evans
No. 66 Saving

R.17th October 1947

9th October 1947

Repeated to Embassy Cairo No. 62
British Middle East Office Cairo No.46
Bagdad No. 80
Amman No. 85
Jedda No. 84
Jerusalem No. 62
U.K. Delegation New York No. 4
Damascus No. 227

} Saving

My telegram No. 721 of October 8th paragraph 1.

Ex Mufti

Sheikh Hassan Abu Seoud is a Member of the Arab
High Committee and not (repeat not) Mufti of Jerusalem.

ccc

18 OCT 1947
XVII

JBout 18

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61835

1947

10

Palestine
EASTERN

E 9453/G

13 OCT 1947

(4)

E 9453/49/C

Informal contact established
with the Mufti in Cairo
on 21 Sept.

Mr. Patterson

C.O.
with Keith
14342/3/1
dated 9 Oct.

Last Paper

EY168

(Minutes)

are the c.o. also in contact with I.Z.H.?

References

E 8346/95/30

[Signature]
(L.F. R. CABLE)
15/10

(Print)

Am not surprised the Embassy
at Cairo were standoffish.
this was a peculiar bit of
work by the Govt. of Palestine.

(How disposed of)

D.S. - Being
out. 15

[Signature]
27/10

(Action completed)

25/10

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper

1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: FO 371 / 61835

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TOP SECRET

E
Colonial Office,
Church House,
Great Smith Street,
London, S.W. 1.

*enter
green*

48

October 9, 1947.

14342/3/1.

My dear Beith,

E 9453

G

13 OCT 1947

I enclose a copy of a report from Palestine on the informal contact established with the Mufti in Cairo on the 21st September. It amplifies Palestine telegram No. 1786 of the 22nd September, a copy of which you already have. I am sending a copy of this letter with its enclosure to J.A.C. Robertson, M.I. 5.

Yours ever,

W.A.C. Mathieson

(W.A.C. Mathieson)

J.G.S. BEITH, ESQ.

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Reference:

FO

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61835

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COPY

His Eminence was in excellent mood, charming, joking. He listened to my questions with great care, wrote them down, translated into Arabic, and will in due course provide written replies. In his oral replies he spoke without any hesitation or apparent equivocation and it is probable that the average observer would have believed that he was quite sincere and not trying to bluff.

Of course, it is possible that what His Eminence wants and what Jamal Hussein may be forced to agree to are different. The test will come if Jamal attempts to persuade Haj Amin to a compromise.

As regards partition, in any form, under any conditions, with or without the Negeb and Jaffa, disguised as federalisation - the answer would be a simply uncompromising NO. In the first place, he was not bargaining with the Zionists about a possession in dispute. Palestine, including Jaffa and the Negeb, was Arab, and he did not recognise the right of anyone to "offer" him what was theirs as a condition of Arab consent to partition. It was like a robber trying to make conditions on which he would return stolen property. In the second place, the Arabs were absolutely convinced that no form of partition or federalisation would finally satisfy the Zionists. Whatever they got would merely be a springboard from which to leap on more. He had the best reasons in the world for this belief. The Zionists had openly and repeatedly declared that a part of Palestine was not their aim; they had declared that their eventual aim would never be relinquished. Take Weizman. In 1922, "We have no thought of a Jewish state"; by 1936-7, "We would accept partition"; by 1942 (Biltmore) "Palestine to be a Jewish state"; today, "Palestine to be a Jewish state and Trans-Jordan is part of Palestine". What more could we want? People used to say Hitler did not mean what he said in Mein Kampf, and even when he stuck to the programme in that book people wouldn't believe. So, people today are foolish enough or scheming enough to pretend to believe that the Zionists would give up their avowed aims and designs if they were given a part of them. Put yourself in the Arabs' place. Remember yourselves in 1940. Did you ever think of offering the Germans part of Britain on condition they let you alone in the rest? Of course not, and you never would. To start with, you would have preferred to die defending it. In the second you know that they would never have kept their word to remain in the one part. All right. That was how the Arabs were; and, once again, the answer to "Partition", "Federalisation", in fact any system that gave the Zionists political authority in Palestine, was NO, categorically NO. The Jews, like anybody else, would have as many and no more rights as the other citizens of Palestine. Jews in England did not vote, etc., until they were naturalised. Jews - and Arabs for that matter - in Palestine also would not have full rights until they became Palestinian citizens. There would be no discrimination against the Jews nor against any other people in Palestine. But the Arabs would NEVER agree to any bestowal on the Zionists of political power or privilege that put them above or independent of the Palestinian state government.

As regards co-operation with the British, there was no fundamental reason whatsoever why the two peoples, Arabs and British, should not co-operate. They had many interests in common, many of the leaders in the Arab countries admired, liked and were grateful to the British - but don't let that deceive you into thinking that any Arab leader will weaken where Palestine is

concerned./

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Reference:

FO 37 / 61835

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concerned. There are a few weak sisters, but the country has no use for them and they have no influence in the country. Palestinian Arab enmity towards the British is purely political - they hate the policy which has founded and nourished the Zionists national home. The moment it has become clear that Britain is no longer supporting Zionist political aspirations in Palestine, that moment will the depth of Arab friendship for Britain become clear. It would be too much to hope that Britain who, as everyone knows, is one of the Big Five in the United Nations, would make it evident there that she did not intend to support Zionist political claims and aims in Palestine? That she would reject Partition or any other scheme giving the Zionists that political foothold which they need and want in order to realise their ultimate aims? Were Britain to take such a stand she would have gained Arab friendship in a moment. It was little to ask. Britain has done a great deal for the Jews. Let her merely refrain from doing any more - Palestine. "We do not ask justice. We ask less than justice", because we do not ask Britain to undo the past.

Those are the conditions. Decide whether you will continue to support political Zionism. If you do, you can never hope for Arab co-operation, for the Arabs would be co-operating in bringing about their own destruction.

As regards the withdrawal of British troops from Palestine, we would not mind. We do not fear the Jews, their Stern, Irgun, Haganah. We might lose at first. We would have many losses, but in the end we must win. Remember Mussolini, who talked of 8,000,000 bayonets, who bluffed the world that he had turned the macaronis back into Romans. For 21 years he made this bluff, and what happened when his Romans were put to the test? They crumbled into nothing. So with the Zionists. They will eventually crumble into nothing, and we do not fear the result, unless of course Britain or America or some other Great Power intervenes. Even then we shall fight and the Arab world will be perpetually hostile. Nor do we want you to substitute American or United Nations troops for the British. That would be even worse. We want no foreign troops. Leave us to fight it out ourselves.

(The question of Haj Amin's personal position was not directly raised, beyond my observations that he was a key man in the attitude of the Palestinian Arabs. But I would say that he fears no rival, that it never enters his head that he has a serious rival, and that any attempt by an outside power to place another Palestinian Arab at the head of the Palestinian movement could not succeed. I would say that he was supremely confident in the strength of his position and in his belief that the Palestinian Arabs look to him as unquestioned leader. At the same time, he gave a definite impression of personal disinterestedness; but that would be because he has probably never doubted the strength of his own position.

Most of the conversation was in Turkish, Important words and phrases repeated in Arabic. Haj Amin occasionally lapsed into broken French and even, once or twice, into a word or two of English. Speaking of the Zionist ultimate aims, he several times repeated with evident pleasure the phrase "L'appetit vient en mangeant.")

21st September, 1947.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

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53

E 3470

1947

PALESTINE

13 OCT

Registry Number

E 9476/49/89

TELEGRAM FROM

A. Souther (Cairo)

No.

1998

Dated

10 Oct.

Received in Registry

13 Oct.

Enquiries

Papers to Parent tel to 721/E 9381/49/31/ has been unable to find out the exact circumstances of the ex. Enquiries whether a formal protest should be made to Egyptian Govt. & whether they should be asked to permit his re-entry into Egypt.

Last Paper.

9453

(Minutes.)

Enq.

Plaine E 9514

[Signature]
19/10

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Matheson
60
Oct 18
(on E 9647)

(Action completed.)

[Signature]
20/10

(Index)

[Signature]
20/10

Next Paper.

9486

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference: FO 371/61835

E54

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION.
FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Bowker D. 7.52 p.m. 10th October 1947
No. 1998 R. 11 p.m. 10th October 1947.

10th October 1947.

Repeated to Beirut
Bagdad
Amman
Jedda
Jerusalem
Damascus
U. K. Delegation New York.

E 2470 13 OCT 1947
M.A.M.A.

IMMEDIATE.

Beirut telegram No. 721. 2521 E

Ex Mufti.

Enquiries made here have so far failed to establish the precise circumstances of the ex Mufti's departure from Cairo. Present indications are that there must have been some degree of collusion at high level on the part of Egyptian authorities or else serious negligence on the part of central authorities at airfield.

2. It seems that probably the ex Mufti's departure is attributable to fortuitous circumstance of Arab League Council's meeting in Beirut instead of Cairo where meeting would have taken place but for cholera epidemic and where ex Mufti could certainly have had all contacts he desired with Arab Delegates.

3. It will be recalled that as stated in paragraph 4 of Sir Ronald Campbell's telegram No. 1114 of June 19th 1946 Sidki was unwilling to guarantee that Egyptian Government could prevent the ex Mufti's escape from Egypt. As regards Nokrashi's attitude regarding the ex Mufti's activities please see Sir Ronald Campbell's despatch No. 354 April 25th. Despite the latter do you wish me to make a formal protest to Egyptian Government about the ex Mufti's departure and to ask them to prevent his re-entry into Egypt? It may be thought that protest would be appropriate for form's sake but have no hope that the Egyptian Government would cooperate in preventing re-entry.

Foreign Office please pass to Amman and U.K. Delegation New York as my telegram No. 87 and my telegram No. 105 respectively and Beirut to Damascus as my telegram No. 157. Foreign Office please pass to Jerusalem.
[Repeated to Amman and U.K. Delegation New York].
[Copies sent to Colonial Office for transmission to Jerusalem].

V V V

8 23668/40/9

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Reference: **EO** 371 / 61835

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E 8880 56

1941

PALESTINE

13 OCT

Registry Number

E9586/10/51

TELEGRAM FROM

H. Evans (Basnet)

No.

733

Dated

11 Oct

Received in Registry

13 Oct.

The committee
considers that it would not be worth while asking the Labour Government to give a guarantee in connexion with the League's political activities.

Last Paper.

9476

(Minutes.)

Please see E9514

[Signature]
14/10

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Wetheran
80.
(in E9647)
✓ 18 Oct.

(Action completed.)

[Signature] 28/10

(Index.)

[Signature]

Next Paper.

9495

3203 F.O.P.

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans,
No. 733

11th October, 1947.

D: 1.12 p.m. 11th October, 1947

R: 3.25 p.m. 11th October, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo,
British Middle East Office,
Bagdad,
Jedda,
Jerusalem,
Amman
Damascus, Saving.

E 9480
13 OCT

Secret.

LIGHT

Ex Mufti.

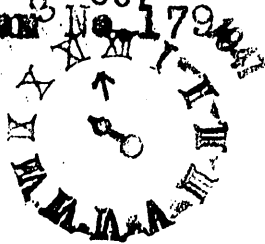
Arrival of the ex Mufti in the Lebanon perhaps offers a suitable opportunity for a review of our attitude towards him particularly in the light of the favourable Arab reactions to the Colonial Secretary's statement on Palestine. There is little doubt that the British are no longer regarded as Arab public enemy No. 1 over Palestine and to this extent at least the ex Mufti is possibly now less of a menace from our point of view.

Assurances given by the Egyptian Government that the ex Mufti would not indulge in any political activities appear to have been of little value. I think that any Lebanese assurances would fall in the same category. Furthermore I doubt whether the present Lebanese Government headed by Riad Bey Solh would be prepared to give any such assurances - if the press communiqué incident reported in my telegram No. 732 indicates anything it is surely this.

3. As seen from here it appears doubtful whether any useful purpose would be served in making representations to the Lebanese Government in connexion with the ex-Mufti's political activities. An additional argument in favour of this attitude is that according to the Lebanese Prime Minister the ex-Mufti is unlikely to stay long in the Lebanon. (Riad Bey Solh told me that he had not put the question to Haj Amin but that he had formed this impression).

Cairo please pass to British Middle East Office as my telegram No. 179

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

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E 9495 58

1947

PALESTINE

13 OCT

Registry Number

F 9495/29/31

TELEGRAM FROM

(Beirut)

No.

730

Dated

10 Oct

Received in Registry

13 Oct

The ex-hupta

Refers to Beirut tel to 725 (F 9483/29/31)
Records a conversation with Saleh Gahr regarding the ex-hupta's arrival in Lebanon. He promised to urge the Prime Minister to curtail the hupta's stay.

Last Paper.

8486

(Minutes.)

Phone no E 9514

[Signature]
17/10

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

[Signature]
CO
Oct 18
(on F 9647)

(Action completed.)

[Signature]
20/10/46

(In...)

[Signature]
20/10/46

Next Paper.

9496

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Reference: FO 371 / 61835

E 59

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Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans. D. 3.54 p.m. 10th October 1947.
No. 730. R. 7.48 p.m. 10th October 1947.
10th October 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York, Cairo,
British Middle East Office, Bagdad, Jedda, Jerusalem,
Amman and Savig Damascus.

IMPORTANT.
SECRET.

E E 293

My telegram 725; ex Mufti.

When I saw Saleh Jabr this morning, I asked him whether he had been informed in advance of the ex Mufti's arrival. He replied in the negative and added that as far as he was aware the Lebanese Prime Minister had also been kept in the dark. He had no doubt however that the Egyptians knew all about it.

2. A communiqué had been published in local press to the effect that all heads of Arab delegations called on the ex Mufti on October 9th. This was incorrect as he, Saleh Jabr, had not (repeat not), paid him a visit and he proposed to issue a démenti. Saleh Jabr added that if Mufti called on him he would receive him very coolly.

3. Saleh Jabr said that he had made known to Arab League Council his views on the subject of the ex Mufti. He had told them that he thoroughly disapproved of the ex Mufti's ways and that in his opinion the ex Mufti was not a man who had the cause of Palestine truly at heart. Haj Amin had spent twenty five years attempting to deal with the Palestine question and had been unsuccessful. The time had now come for him to retire and to leave the field open to others.

4. Saleh Jabr said that he would use his influence here to ensure that the welcome given to the ex Mufti should not be overdone and that he would urge the Lebanese Prime Minister to curtail his stay in the Lebanon. I doubt whether he will meet with much success. The ex Mufti has been hailed in the local press as the Arab hero.

Foreign Office please pass to United Kingdom Delegation New York as my telegram No. 29 and Cairo to British Middle East Office as my telegram No. 177.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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Reference: **FO 371 / 51835**

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E 9498

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1947

PALESTINE

13 OCT

Registry Number

E 9496/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

(Beirut) 732

Dated

10 Oct.

Received in Registry

13 Oct.

The esc - huffu

Records a conversation with the Lebanese Prime Minister regarding a press report in Beirut representatives as the huffu activities - the Lebanon.

Last Paper.

9495

(Minutes.)

Please see E 9514

J 19/10

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Washington P.O. (on E 9647) ✓ 18 Oct.

(Action completed.)

✓ 28/10

(Index.)

28/10

Next Paper.

9498

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61835**

E 09

61

13 OCT

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Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans.
No. 782.

D. 8.25 p.m. 10th October, 1947.

10th October, 1947. R. 10.40 p.m. 10th October, 1947.

Repeated Saving Cairo, British Middle East Office,
Bagdad, Amman, Jedda, Jerusalem & Danascus.

SECRET.

The ex-Mufti.

When I saw the Lebanese Prime Minister late last night after the Arab League meeting, he drew my attention to an Agence Francaise de Presse report of which following translation.

[Begins] It is announced by official sources that the British representative in Beirut yesterday made a démarche to the Lebanese Government to inform them of the British point of view on the subject of the presence of the Mufti in Lebanon. The British representative specially mentioned the unfavourable impression created in London by the liberty accorded to the Mufti as regards political activity. [Ends].

Riad Bey said that if this was published in the local press he would be obliged to issue a démenti.

2. There seemed to me to be little doubt that the report, at least the part referring to the Mufti's political activities, had been inspired with a view to a démenti being issued subsequently, particularly as the type-written sheet shown me by Riad Bey contained two versions of the report, one short and one long. I told Riad Bey that it seemed to me to be a manoeuvre and that somebody was trying to forestall a move by His Majesty's Government. Riad Bey almost admitted something of the sort had occurred but attempted to blame the French. He said that he had given instructions to A.F.P. not to publish the report and would try to prevent it appearing in the local press. He added, however, that he would obviously not be responsible if the report was published in the Egyptian press (I have since been informed it was broadcast in the Egyptian radio on the evening of October 9th).

3. The probability is that the original report to the effect that I had pointed out to the Lebanese Government that the ex-Mufti's arrival would create an unfortunate impression in London (which was included in L.P.S. of October 9th) has been expanded to include reference to

his/

13 OCT
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Reference:

FO

371

61835

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62

his political activities in order either to anticipate any possible representations to the Lebanese Government or to furnish an excuse for denying the whole report.

4. The Prime Minister informed me this afternoon that as various versions of the report have been published in the local press, he proposed to issue a dementi. In my presence he drafted a vague denial to the effect that "the news published does not conform to the truth" (which is in fact the case). I raised no objection but pointed out that according to my information the true facts have already been published in London. He wished to add a sentence to the effect that the ex-Mufti was enjoying full liberty of action but agreed to omit it.

5. My feeling is that no useful purpose will be served by pursuing this matter further.

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Reference: **FO 371 / 61835**

LAST HT

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E 9498 63

1947

PALESTINE

13 OCT

Registry Number

E 9498 / 49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Re. 6000 (Beirut)

No.

736

Dated

11 Oct.

Received in Registry

13 Oct.

Ex. hufu.

Refer to Beirut Lo 935 (E 9509/951/31)
The President, the Director General &
the Prime Minister had no knowledge of
the hufu's intention to come to Lebanon.
A number of Senate would accompany the
hufu everywhere to keep a check on the movements.

(Minutes.)

Please see E 9514

[Signature]
14/10

Last Paper.

9496

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

S. Waltham
OO
(on E 9647)
✓ 18 Oct.

(Action completed.)

[Signature]
29/10

(Index)

[Signature]
30/10/48

Next Paper

E 9514

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References: FO 371 / 61835

E 64

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Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

E 9498

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

13 OCT

Mr. Evans.

D. 1.45.p.m. October 11th, 1947.

No. 736.

October 11th, 1947.

R. 5.25.p.m. October 11th, 1947.

Repeated to Cairo.

British Middle East Office Cairo.

Bagdad)

Jedda)

Jerusalem.)

Amman.)

Damascus)

SAVING.

SECRET.

Ex-Mufti.

My immediately preceding telegram.

The President said that the Director General wished to tell me personally that the ex-Mufti's arrival had come as a complete surprise to him and furthermore that the Lebanese Prime Minister had assured him that he also had no knowledge of the ex-Mufti's intention to come to Lebanon. He did not say however that in his opinion Riad Bey Solh was innocent in the matter; in fact other sources quote the President as saying that he believed Riad Bey was aware of what was afoot.

2. The President said that he had arranged for a member of Surete to be in constant attendance on the Mufti both for his protection and in order to keep some check on his movements, and to this extent his activities would be controlled and restricted and he said that we could be sure that he would not be allowed to indulge in any activities directed against British interests.

Cairo please pass to B.M.E.O. as my telegram No. 281.

13 OCT
1947

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Reference:

FO

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51835

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E 9514 65

1947

PALESTINE

14 OCT

Registry Number

E 9514/49/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. Mr Evans
Reirut
Dated 7th
Received in Registry 11 Oct 14

Mr. Muffler
Saw James Panko, and asked him about Mr. Muffler's arrival. He said that it had been on a complete surprise to him. Like Panko told he had not called on him. In his opinion Muffler's arrival was a sign of weakness. He was leaving ground in Palestine and therefore could not afford to do anything when for. Nothing decisions were being taken concerning Palestine.

Last Paper.

9498

References.

- E 9478
- E 9509
- E 9486
- E 9496
- E 9495
- E 9476

copied to C.O.
Mr. Nathanson

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Mr. Nathanson
P.O.
(on E 9647)
Oct. 18

(Minutes.)
Please see also:
Mr. Evans suggests that representations to the Lebanese Govt would be inappropriate. As this is very much what we said in our telegram no. 628 to Beirut (copy E 9381 attached), no further action appears to be required. We might, however, send a similar telegram to Beirut in answer to their enquiry (E 9476).
J.P.
CT-CABLE
14/10

now see E 9627

16/10

(Action completed.)

J.P. 10/10

(Index.)

J.P. 10/10

Next Paper.

E 9627

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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61835

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Cypher/OTP. CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

E

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans.
No. 741.

D. 9.10 a.m. 12th October 1947.

11th October 1947.

R. 10.50 a.m. 12th October 1947.

Repeated to: Cairo,
B.M.E.O. Cairo,
and Saving to
Bagdad,
Jedda,
Jerusalem,
Amman,
Damascus.

E 9514
14 OCT

SECRET.

EX Mufti.

When I saw Samir Pasha this morning I asked him about ex Mufti's arrival. He said that it had come as a complete surprise to him. Like Saleh Jabr he had not (repeat not) called on him.

2. Samir Pasha said that in his opinion Mufti's arrival was a sign of weakness. He was losing ground in Palestine and therefore could not afford to be absent when far-reaching decisions were being taken concerning Palestine.

Cairo please pass to B.M.E.O. as my telegram No. 186.

W:W:W:W:W



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Reference: **FO** 371 / 61835

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1947

E

PALESTINE

E 9627

16 OCT

67

Registry Number

E 9627/49/31

FROM

F. O. Minute

No.

M. Burrows

Dated

10 Oct

Received in Registry

16 Oct

Ex. Mufti.

Discusses arrival of Mufti in the Lebanon, regarding recent situation, relevant office was in favour of a policy of masterly inactivity re Mufti's arrival in the Lebanon.

Last Paper

9574

References

(Print)

(How disposed of)

Hel, Paris	1953
Rptd Beirut	55
Baghdad	54
Amman	37
Teheran	33
Damascus	
U.K. Dept.	271

21 Oct
S. Matherly P.O.
Oct 24

(Action completed)

G.L.M. 28/10

(Index)

[Signature]

Next Paper

E 9647

(Minutes.)

Please see also E 9514 and other papers listed therein, which give the latest movements of the Mufti.

The telegram referred to in this paper was sent as our no. 628 to Beirut on E 9381. No further action appears to be required in that connexion, but it may be advisable to reply to Mr. Bowler's telegram (E 9476) about the question of addressing a protest to the Egyptian Govt. As there does not appear to be any hope of such a protest producing results, I suggest that it might well be omitted. In this connexion, please see minutes on E 9344. Draft submitted accordingly.

[Signature]
(C.J.E. CABRE)
16/10

Egyptian Dept.

J. S. Baird
Oct. 17

[Signature]

Seen by Mr. Burrows and sent 21/10

98538

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1	2	3	4	5	6

Reference: **FO 371/61835**

Minutes.

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F

E 9627
16 OCT

Flag A

The Mufti has arrived in the Lebanon, where the meeting of the Arab League is taking place. H.M. Chargé d'Affaires has told the Lebanese Prime Minister that the Mufti's arrival will undoubtedly create a most unfavourable impression on H.M. Government. The Lebanese Prime Minister asserted that he had no previous notice of the Mufti's arrival.

The last Cabinet decision about the Mufti is in E 6076/G. The Mufti was then in Egypt but was thought likely to go to the Lebanon.

The Cabinet agreed that the High Commissioner for Palestine should be instructed to arrest and deport the Mufti if he came within Palestine jurisdiction and that H.M. Minister at Beirut should repeat warnings already given to the Lebanese Government against allowing the Mufti to enter the Lebanon.

It appears that we have never asked the Egyptian Government to prevent the Mufti leaving Egypt, but only not to allow him to indulge in political activity there.

The Mufti has a strong position with the Arab League. He has in the past been mal vu by the Iraqi Government, particularly because of his association with Rashid Ali. The present attitude of the Iraqi Prime Minister, who is at the Arab League meeting, is said to be one of "excitement", but it is not clear whether the excitement is pleasureable or the reverse.

It has for long been anticipated that, when the situation in Palestine became more critical, the Mufti would move to the Lebanon, in order to direct from there Arab activities in Palestine.

It seems perfectly clear that the Lebanese Government would be unable and unwilling to take any action either to remove the Mufti from the Lebanon or to curb his political activities while he is there, and it seems quite unrealistic for us to ask them to do so. We might, however, ask them to see that he does nothing to make things more difficult for the British Administration.

I have discussed this question generally with the Colonial Office. They feel that the situation has considerably changed with our undertaking to withdraw from Palestine. Once we have begun to withdraw, the activities of the Mufti in Palestine, provided they are not directed against us, will not be our concern. We may indeed at a somewhat later stage find ourselves having to reach agreement with him if he succeeds in establishing himself in Palestine or part of Palestine. The Colonial Office are therefore in favour of a policy of masterly inactivity as regards the Mufti's arrival in the Lebanon.

There/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference:

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69

Minutes.

There is much to be said for this point of view, though I think it would still be perfectly appropriate for us to comment on the undesirability of influence being exercised by someone with so shady a past and such extremist views as the Mufti.

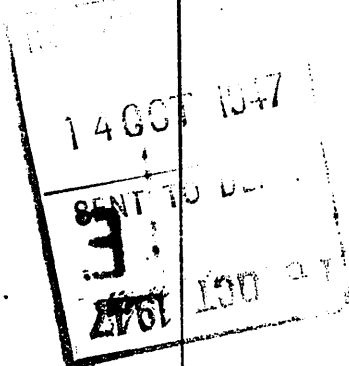
I attach a draft telegram, in which the Colonial Office concur.

B.A.B. Brown

10th October, 1947.

*I think this is
on the right lines
of B.B. Brown Oct 11*

J. A. P. 110



SEE E9381.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Registry
No. E 9627/49/31
SEC.

Top Secret.
Secret.
Confidential.
Restricted.
Open.

Draft.

CAIRO

Telegram

No. 1953

(Date) Oct 21

Repeat to :-

- ALL SAVING
- Beirut No 55 SA ✓
- Bagdad No 54 SA ✓
- Cherbourg No 37 SA ✓
- Geneva No 33 SA ✓
- Jerusalem No ...
- London No 38 SA ✓
- U.K. Del. ...
- to U.N. New York No 27/1 SA ✓

21/10
Egyptian Dept.
Inst

En Clair. JB out. 17

Code.

Cypher.

Distribution :- 20 x

Departmental no. 1

Copies to :-

C.O. (Mr. Mellanby)

OUT FILE

F. O.,

194

Despatched 10.45 M.

Confidential

E9381

E9476

1998

721

Your telegram no. 721 [of
10th October: Mufti] and my tel. no.
628 to Cairo [7 Oct. 13] (referred to)

I agree that no useful
purpose could be served by
protesting against Mufti's departure
from Egypt.
I do not think that any useful purpose would
be served by your ~~making~~ making a

formal protest to the Egyptian
Govt. about Mufti's departure
or requesting them to prevent his
re-entry

R9
V21/x

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1
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6

Reference:

FO 371 / 61835

E 9627/49/31
Confidential
Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO

No.1953 D.10.45 a.m. 22nd October, 1947.

21st October, 1947.

Repeated to Beirut No.55)
Bagdad No.54)
Amman No.37)
Jedda No.35) Saving
Jerusalem)
Damascus No.38) Saving
U.K. Delegation New York No.271)

CONFIDENTIAL

Your telegram No.1998 [of 10th October: Mufti]
and my telegram No.628 to Beirut [of October 13th]

I do not think that any useful purpose would be
served by making a formal protest to the Egyptian
Government about Mufti's departure or by requesting them
to prevent his re-entry.

B B B

71

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		1		2	

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Reference:

FO

371

51835

1947

E

E 9647

72

PALESTINE

16 OCT

Registry Number

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

E 9647/49/31
M. Evans
Beirut
751
15 Oct
16 -

Re: to - M. Evans.
Re: 40 to 628 (E 9381/49/31)
Re: feeling national to this not
changed - see Beirut tel 430.

Last Paper.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

4, M. Evans in -
60
✓ Oct. 18

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

7/26/10

30/9/47

Next Paper.

E 9696

(Minutes.)

Copy to c.o. (Mr. Mathison)

Stube
C.J.E. CABLE
16/10

30.5 Beirut
Oct. 16

R. J. J. J.
12/1

W. X

W. X

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6

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73
END
This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.

Cypher CTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Evans D. 3.58 p.m. 15th October 1947.
No. 751
15th October 1947. R. 5.39 p.m. 15th October 1947.

Repeated to U.K. Del. New York
Cairo
B.M.E.O. Cairo
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Amman
Jedda
Damascus (Saving)

E 9647
16 OCT

E 9384/49/31

Your telegram No. 628 paragraph 3; ex-Mufti.

Iraqi feelings pertinent to this not changed -
please see my telegram No. 730. E 9495/49/31

Foreign Office pass to United Kingdom Delegation
New York as my telegram No. 35 and Cairo to British
Middle East Office Cairo as my telegram No. 191.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York].

TTTTTT

16 OCT 1947

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				2	

Reference:

FO 371 / 51835

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